/33 cont./

342 There is nothing of that here. All the stone circumvallations
333 that defend the tiers of cultivation are subject to incessant revision. In the house, on the other hand, there was nothing about
[184] the schistose slabs arranged in straight lines that looked like a
[554] lord. The latter, farther to the S., inhabited his qaçba /casbah/
[712] of pisé. In this part of Morocco, the palace is of mud, and the shanty of stone. There is nothing more disconcerting for us than
166 the facility with which the montagnard abandons the hovel,
342 taking away only the woodwork, and sets about building elsewhere. Hence so many scattered ruins: such old villages, with their banquettes and their walls, are abandoned. For which there are several reasons, one of which doubtlessly is moral: horror of the ruins, to which avenging forces are attached, and the other economic: this immense debauch of man power, which by its realizations, sometimes masterly, but irregular, dispenses the human action of perseverance.

621 Another idea to revise, the one that we often have of a habitat so fragmented. For the European geographer, this would be the /34/ sign of an anarchial particularism, of a failure of social structures. Now here it is just the opposite. Nothing is more closely united than these ensembles of écarts /separate parts/ or hamlets, Imud'a, flung into the valley as if by chance, and obeying only the exigencies of a capricious strategy or of mood. The Chleuh /Shluh/ city is broken up into small bits, but it is a city. It is crumbled throughout the canton. The fact is that, through the combined effect of an inhospitable milieu and the energy of the men, immense stretches of savage nature, of parks and gardens are maintained between the blocks of houses.

The Family, Viewed from the Outside

592 "What one finds, in these mountains, is the family stock in
184 accordance with The Play. The individual person is absorbed
616 into it, under the patriarchal authority of the senior one. From village to village, these little social and political foyers confront one another in two leagues, to the measure of the whole extent of the provinces."

[Ait H'adduyws]

/43 cont./

173 good Almoravides, the Almohade history of this part of the mountains. Today the cult of this eponym is quite modest, and its lineage quite dispersed. Its own genealogical documents refer to a cycle which pushed aside the Seksawa in order to penetrate into Idaw Mh'mud, and up to Mentagna. In this decline there is the whole history of the Seksawa, or rather their fall from the great history of the fourteenth century to the humble montagnard intrigue of late epoch.

133 101 634 The cirque is vast. It starts at 1,600 meters altitude, at the outlet of Igersafen toward the S. But the habitat climbs to the 1,950 meters of altitude of Wawnsawt, the highest agglomeration of the Seksawa. Over this whole section the bed spreads into wide ledges where cultivations draw up in echelons on both sides of a street of walnut trees. This arrangement lasts up to the cul-de-sac of Wawnsawt. From there, only a wall, but the detail of which is seen now and which forms a caisson. A light spot indents it: the [443] Tizi /44/ y-Imedlawen. Access indeed precarious: by way of it, [778] however, intrepid marchers frequent the souq /sook/ of the Tigguga, and even the a. Tamment, where the sanctuary of sidi [484] Abdallah u Sa'id is. The saint is separated from Wawnsawt, last village of the Seksawa, by a day's walk, hardly more than from this village to Imintanout.

173 166 619 In the plain of the "king's sons," and despite its relative abundance and its richness, the ancient race has barely existed. Many new people have come, Idaw Semlal for the most part. But immigration here has doubtlessly been progressive. Without violence, at least that recollection records. The aggregate thus con- 634 619 stituted has itself become conquerors. The immense rectangular house of the last independent amghar, Ah'med Umulid, exists at [342] the bourg of Tasa. Lower, at Fensu, at the very root of the Aziwal, reigns a montagnard rich-man, present-day chief; the old violent and patriarchal life tacks toward prosperity with the purchase of green nuts and the financing /Fr. commandite/ of livestock breeding. The majesty of the place nourishes no more 634 than a capitalism with shrewd fructifications. It is combined, 173 619 however, with the spirit of the high valleys in a mixture of strong

[Ait H'adduyws]

/44 cont./

173 634 619 archeological tenor. The families issued from the great ancestor, the a. D'alh'a, occupy several villages and, in the native view, contribute no little in adorning the country with a discreet, secret, but real touch of authenticity. Vestiges of the past, they remain the support of a legitimacy depending on the Seksawa, [613] from which the other founders benefit little or much. A lineage authentic and allogeneous, today all are sons of H'addô. Immaterial factors, whose action on these montagnards should not be minimized, have imposed their truce here: perhaps the force attached to this saint, yet left out of the rites, almost forgotten, but who is nonetheless "the great ancestor."

133 487 175 166 169 It is a completely different impression that is made on the traveler who, leaving the valley, climbs the Tizi n-Tbgurt (2,650 meters). To his right the Tizi n-Trga opens a difficult but indispensable passage toward the Sous. It is this route that was taken in the course of the last centuries by the invaders coming from the Anti-Atlas to take the place of the old dying populations. And it is from there that they spread toward the N. From the flanks of the Tabgurt, several avenues in fact radiate toward the plain; they have remained the habitat of the new men: a. M'hnd, a. Lh'sen, Idma. Toward the N. and the N.-W. arch 133 the highlands separating the constitutive valleys of the asif n.-a. 101 Lh'sen. The eye follows their outlines up to the bar of the Bwi- 634 baun; in the axis, at a distance, appears, by means of an opening, the tabular relief of the Dwiran. To the N.-E. descend the terraces of Agersili. From there, the landscape bifurcates, one might say, into crossroads. /45/ It is in these divergent directions that the history of the peoples coming from the Sous is spread out. Thus one might wonder if the political axis which now coincides with the valley has not changed through the ages.

"Cantons" Par Excellence

101 184 634 619 Here we are in the immured confines of the Seksawa world. And even these people here are no longer Seksawa. They are vassalized Demsira. Last remains of the encroachments made by their people at an unknown time on all the lower Seksawa, up to

[Ait Mh'nd]
[Idma]

133 /46/ The a. Mh'nd are isolated, like the Iguntar. They are
101 backed up to the enormous mass that we call the Tabgurt, but
634 which in reality corresponds to different appellations for the
619 native: Timezgida Wager Wadaden and Awrir u Ginnus, for the
two summits of the massif that our maps name "Tabgourt" and
[823] estimate at 3,200 meters of altitude. According to the local interpretation, Tabgurt is high ground dominating the plain of the H'adduyws on one hand, the a. Dris on the other. Tizi n-Trga opens from this side. On the W. another col, the Tizi n-Tgurzatin. After which reigns the Awrir n-Zkkat'.

181 It is at the foot of these reliefs that the a. Mh'nd lead their
101 life of former conquerors fallen into a respectable comfort and
634 absorbed by their lands, their flocks, their walnut trees. Allied
619 with their Idma neighbors, they have abstained from expansions. Besides, they were barred downstream by their suzerains of Ad'erd'ur. The coincidence of the bourg habitat with the political cell and the agrarian order is total here. Later we shall study in
[128] detail the portioning of their fields, irrigated by two sources, and where a rotation of crops plays a role, implying imperious collective agreements.

[527] These agreements manifest themselves in feasts of color and song, days of chorus, ah'wach, on the superb lawn that the glacial foliage of giant walnut trees shades all summer. The plan of the
361 village, through a new encounter with the other orders of phe-
619 nomena where the deep social harmony of this group is expressed, reveals a division still perceptible between ikhs-s. Important because of the population as well as because of the architecture, composed of dense quarters of joined houses with tunneled streets, it is striking because of an urban character. And this liaison between a richly-balanced agricultural life, a municipal liberty, and a sort of city finality is not the least significant feature of the life of the high cantons.

619 Conquests By Force: the Idma Domain
634
101 This is a domain, not a country. It was constituted by arms,
175 starting from the sixteenth century. The small, puny, energetic,
181 and sly men who hold it came from the Anti-Atlas and have

[166]

619 [Idma]

181 /46 cont./

634 remained faithful, up to their last independent amghar-s, to a
101 tortuous and violent tradition. Their type has been safeguarded.
175 It is striking because of a strange dullness of skin, almost blue
[166] sometimes, and which indeed seems to reflect the imprisonment
[142] between these high and terrifying walls. "Profiteers and marauders," as the Pyrenean chronicler says of another such mountain people, expanding the meaning of plunder into broad political conceptions, the /47/ Idma have spread in the direction of Z'init', over a large section of the river and up to the bar of the Afuzar to the E.; over an affluent valley, that of Ammern to the W.; and over all the highlands between the two. In order to understand by what dynamics this meeting of grounds could be made, it is necessary to climb the counterforts of the Tabgurt. Let us place ourselves at an observation point situated at 2,300 meters, just under the little source streamlet called Talat n-a. Ilarzg.

133 One discovers before one, downwards, the ground of Agersili,
241 at the foot of an uneven ridge, which points to the Awrir Waluggu.
101 It is a vast ensemble of suspended valleys, on flanks prodigiously
634 cut by terraces. We are in May. The green of the barley not yet in ear -- for the year is late here, and snow has persisted for several months on the tilled fields -- is arranged with the light ocher, carefully squared and rebordered like honeycomb, prepared for maize. Agersili, with the ground of the a. Mh'nd, is the only place of our mountain large enough for a regular rotation of barley, maize, and turnips to govern the agricultural life there.
[312] A séguia of about ten kilometers waters it. It comes from the high ledges of the Amerdul, common to the Idma and to the H'adduyws. Besides Agersili, this séguia runs between the grounds
[361] of Ad'erd'ur and of Wanchkrir. The first bourg, "the mute," rises in the steep valley of Ammern. The second, older, with a name now unintelligible, is not entirely Idma. The filtered water from Agersili falls there in cascades, into a ravine which ends by rejoining the main valley because of a capture. Two masses of highlands, the Tassila and Inraren Z'dinin, "the joined threshing-floors," tower over, at more than 2,000 meters, the two bourgs,

[Idma]
[Ait Lh'sen]

619 /48 cont./
778 The domain of the Idma thus embraces the three most im-
634 portant sanctuaries of the upper Seksawa: Ammern to the E., in
the extension of the Ad'erd'ur ravine, Assttif to the W., Lalla
[484] Aziza on the bisector. A five-hour walk separates the two ex-
treme sanctuaries. On the other hand, longitudinally, it is nec-
essary to figure four hours between Lalla Aziza and Igersafen.
Therefore this domain extends over a space that we could esti-
mate at the value of a whole day's walk in order to be probed in
619 all directions. That is a great deal for a little montagnard state.
175 The Idma are in fact conquerors. "We had only 700 armed
701 men," they say, "when the a. Gasa were double that number.
726 But we conquered them, with the help of Lalla Aziza." In mod-
634 em times, a regular line of chiefs, alternating among two or
619 three families, could combine the principle of assembly co-opta-
tion, the great assemblies of Inraren z'dinin, with the impetus of
the individual. The chronicle of these alternations have re-
634 mained for us. Today masters of the territory of three zaouias,
181 having known how to insert themselves smoothly into the French
619 peace, obstinate, proud, miserly, the Idma continue their tena-
cious aspiration to exist as a group and, in short, their taking in
charge the former destiny of the Seksawa.

619 /49/ The Domain of the Ait Lh'sen
174 Like the Idma, they are conquerors. They also seem to have
166 arrived from the Sous by way of the Tizi n Trga and, from there,
634 to have swerved toward the N. and the N.-W. up to encountering
131 the high bar of the Bwibaun, limit of the Seksawa toward the W.,
symmetrical with that of the Afuzar toward the E.

133 To the S., the length of the axial chain, they comprise two
101 cantons entirely similar to the Iguntar and to the a. Mh'nd, be-
634 tween which they are intercalated. These are Iwulla and
619 Wanz'id', backed up to the wall which, from the 3,000 meters of
the Zkkat', separates the Seksawa from the I. u Mh'mud. One who
looks toward the N. from the flank of the Zkkat' distinguishes three
valleys still recent in form and which two bulges of earth separate:
the one ending at Amudder, the other constituting the mole of

212 /62 cont./
613 them elements for the history of the prices. Finally, the acts of public law, which abound, notably in the heavily stocked genre of codifications, throw bright flashes on a past for the knowledge of which one was often reduced to conjecture.

The forgeries, of course, abundant. In many cases, one succeeds in revealing the deception, indeed a gross anachronism. But this suspicion is not of very great importance for our research. Because the forger, eminent stylizer and amateur interested in archaism, is himself valuable as a document.

c) Chronicle

175 A third source is that of the chronicles properly speaking. To
[173] tell the truth, one finds them only rarely among the Seksawa, and most of the native historiography is constituted there /63/ by oral traditions. But these traditions are precise, and quite often dated. One will judge them by long extracts. Nevertheless it has been possible to collect several public documents, letters from chief to chief, even annals in a certain case: the commemoration of a disaster of the Seksawa.

212 The ensemble of all these sources, morphological, annalistic,
175 and archives, forms a documentation of a precision to which the past of the Maghreb has hardly accustomed us.

Refection of the Montagnard Groups By the South

The False Autochthony

• 166 Montagnards, Sedentary. One cannot always banish the temptation to fix them on their rocks sub specie aeternitatis.
[829] But the first result of the analysis is that they are immigrants, and that, a more instructive fact, they have no constraint about acknowledging a foreign origin (1).

1. R. Montagne, "Aghbar ...," Hesp., 1927, pp. 1 sq., has already noted this paradoxical allogeneity. Today the fact is better explored

/63 cont./

• 166 /footnote 1 continued/ in its relations with the very large demographic movements of the Moroccan South. Cf. R. Montagne, collective research on the Naissance du Prolétariat marocain /Birth of the Moroccan Proletariat/, pp. 43 sq. The unpublished study, Arch. CHEAM, by La Porte des Vaux on the a. Wawzgit establishes the importance of this factor of heterogeneity in the structure of the populations. Same remarks in de Barré on the a. Yah'ya of the Sous. In a different domain, the Fezzan, the patient analysis by J. Despois has shown the extraordinary complexity of these origins, "Mission scientifique au Fezzan /Scientific Mission in the Fezzan/," Géographie humaine, 1946, pp. 241 sq. Already Ed. Doutté, "Figuig," Bulletin de la société de géographie d'Oran, 1903, p. 186; Aug. Bernard, Les confins algéro-marocains /The Algero-Moroccan confines/, 1911, p. 81, etc., had been struck by the same fact. And even before them H. Duveyrier, Les Touareg du Nord /The Tuareg of the North/, 1864, notes in many Saharan towns the diversity of origin of "quarters" and the role it plays in the politics of Ghadamès, Mourzouk, Ouargla, In Salah, the bourgs of the Touat, etc.

000

166 They even bring to it, provided that you have obtained their confidence, some coquettishness. Obligingly, they take to pieces the complex aggregate of the taqbilt for you. Classic conversation for the evening! They tell you in detail how the parties linked today were grouped in terms of places and circumstances. They do not even omit the anecdote for you. One feels that their snobbism is not to lay claim to an Arab or sherifian

829
[634]
[521]

/63 cont./

166 ancestry. It is to exist together, when one has come from so far,
829 when one would have so many reasons not to be here. Style, one might say, is in the success of the adjustment, in its difficulty, sometimes even in its singularity. One does not pose as the handsome son from the Orient, but rather as the crafty little bastard who fits in his proper place.

166 There is a nuance whose analysis is difficult to push further
829 for the moment, under penalty of twisting it. But it /64/ thrusts
182 itself upon anyone who enters, with the montagnard, into this discussion on unity in the multiplicity of origins, which is the preoccupation, the pride, and the science of the citizen. Let us take care: one feels here, once again since the beginning of this investigation, the action of a synthesis that, in general, is not that of kinship, even fictive, but something more immediate, at the same time more subtle. The frequent contradiction between the name of the taqbilt and the diversity of provenances offers the best beginning for the problem.

First Case

634 /In the original source the following paragraph is printed in
613 small type./ Here is, for example, the a. H'adduyws. A
621 striking contradiction: the eponym is a historic personage whose
173 lineage has been affirmed for seven centuries in the oral tradi-
619 tion. But they split themselves up as follows:

[Ait H'adduyws]

/64 cont./

619
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173

Primary division of the taqbilt into "thirds," ththelth	Subdivision of the "thirds" into sub-groups or "great ikhs-s"	Habitat by villages	Legendary origins
1) a. Wasif, "those of the valley."	a. Chaîb.	Uzaga, Igersafen, Tasa, a. Bah'ammo, Targa Ufella.	Immigrated from the Sous, leaving from a center of dispersion which would have been Talat n-a. Tunert, village presently in ruins. [166]
2) a. H'adduyws, properly speaking, likewise called a. Tasa.	a. Lbâz and a. Ggâhi.	Tasa and Fensu.	Came from the Idaw Semlal. Have a branch in Sekrat. There is another ikhs I. Semlal at Ikis (a. H'ammo). To these two subgroups have been agglomerated other ikhs, some of whom are reputed to come from afar: the a. Waffûf (Nfifa); the a. Rrais, the Imzilen (Chyâd'ma). Note the name of the a. Lhint, a name which is found again in Demsira, and where it is necessary to give up finding the Hintata, since, locally, they are interpreted as: People of "steel," lhint. [166]

/See p. 89 for the rest of the chart./

[Ait H'adduyws]

/64 cont./

3) Idaw Geryun (in reality autonomous taqbilt).	a. D'alh'a.	Tinerghat, Rektwasif, Uzaga, Wawenmawt.	Descendants of the eponym, the only ones to claim the ancestry.	619 634 632 613 621 173
	a. Messedut.	Alus.	Came from Sidi Mh'and u Ghâzi, near Taroudant.	[166]
	a. Buzid.	Rektwasif.	Came from the Idaw Zeddut.	

/65/

Integrated into the preceding	Different branches	Habitat by villages	Legendary origins	
Residual populations	Ikessan.	a. Bah'ammo.		
	a. Ish'aq.	Fensu.	Ikhs-s of the Idukkalen and of the a. Umetjar.	
	a. H'oggwa.	Mtili.	Reputed to have come from the H'mer. But their name is that of a great "league" of the Sous.	[166]
	Iqorran.	Ighelmellen.	Unknown origin, first occupants chased out by the I. Geryun.	
	a. Sâid u Buzid.	Ikis.	Unknown origin.	
	Igurramen.	Imi n-wasif.	"Marabouts" of Mtugga origin.	[792] [166]

[Ait Abdella]

/66/

619
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166

Villages	Names of ikhs and traditional origin
Bulᶜwân	a. Lkhil, came from Tiddrarin (Sous) by way of Sidi Âli Iz'm (Dwiran). a. Si Mh'and, "companions" of the first ones. a. Sidi Ghânem, descendants of the saint, who has another tomb in H'âh'a. It would have originated from the Ud Âzzûz (Ud. Bessebâᶜ). a. Wammern, descendant of the saint (Ammeln). a. Lmchari (Iberhan, Demsira). a. u Feryad' (Iberhân, Demsira). a. Bihi u Sâid (autochthons; would be on the way to extinction). a. Belh'âjj (autochthons; would be on the way to extinction). a. u Sâid Bennaçer (Jews converted by the Nâçirî?). a. Naçer, came from the a. Wagenna (Seksawa). a. Benjâa, came from Tizzgi (Gedmiwa). a. u. Kherraz (Idaw Z'al). a. Bujmâ u Âlla (Idaw Merzug, Mtugga). Ichkajjen (Idaw Mh'mud).
Ilutjan	a. Lâneyt, came from Iferks, in Intamlin (Mtugga). a. Lh'achum, from Imintanout (Nfifa). a. Warrah'man (Mez'ud'a).
Tizi Wargyun	a. Wammern "marabouts" of Ammeln (Anti-Atlas). a. Lh'âjj (?). a. Warrah'man (Mez'ud'a)
Talat u Qyar	a. Sâid u Bella (Agadir i-ysemgan, Ibuban). a. Iddar (Agadir i-ysemgan, Ibuban). a. Bihi u Ali (Agadir i-ysemgan, Ibuban). a. Skella (Agadir i-ysemgan, Ibuban).

/See page 92 for the rest of the chart./

[Ait Abdella]
[Ibubanen]

619 /66 cont./

Tuz'z'umt	Ih'ançalen, "marabouts" of Ah'ançal (Moyen Atlas). a. Lqaid, subgroup including: a. Lamghba, a. Bella u H'fid', a. bu Tefsut, a. Lh'sen u Ali, a. Bihi u H'fid, a. Chcheikh H'med, all having originated from the Sous like the a. Si Mh'and of Bulᶜwân. a. Wanz'id" (high a. Lh'sen, descendants of Sidi Musa). a. Buhadi (Iberhan, Demsira). a. Mançur (Dwiran). a. Burjal (Dwiran).
Agawz	a. Buâbila (same origin as the a. Lqaid). a. Lqçir (same origin as the a. Lqaid). a. Sâid u Mh'and (same origin as the a. Lqaid). a. Lihran (same origin as the a. Lqaid).
Tiburin, Imi n-tghli	Regraga "marabouts." Ih'naychen (Dwiran). a. Kawsir (Dwiran). a. Jâa (Dwiran). a. H'med (Dwiran). a. Moh'ammed (Dwiran). a. Si Brik Wakrim (Dwiran). a. u Nd'd'am (Dwiran).

619 /67/ Third Case

634 /In the original source the following five paragraphs are printed in small type./ The third case will be that of a disin-
[101] herited aggregate, the Ibubanen, plur. of Abuban, fem.: Tabu-
bant (in the Arab documents, form: al-Bubânî), occupants of
[312] high declivities between the Amudder and the Ameznir. A
country mutilated on all sides by its neighbors, without permanent
[142] streams, and almost without wells or springs. Their physical type
[181] from the very first contrasts with the unconstrained demeanor, the

[Ibubanen]
[Ait D'alh'a]

/67 cont./

634 184 101 166 619

2) The immigrant Dukkâla -- quite a rare case of movement from the N., though this North was the Haouz, where the habitat of the Dukkâla extended up until a recent epoch -- are settled in a solid group at Amassin. From there, they thrust themselves into each of the other villages, on the ground which they henceforth share.

3) The ait Irz'z'i, chased by the Idma from their village situated on the asif n-a. Mh'nd, are in turn settled as offensive vanquished and appropriate everywhere, except at Amassin, their part of the lands. They are also found, under the name of a. Mulid, in the villages of Timskert and especially of Iggayzen, where they have established a maqâm of their saint, this Baba Lh'âjj, with a personal, but still anonymous face, and localized in an old past, it is said, of 40 generations. A "mansion" of Sidi Ah'med u Âli, in this same village, is a place of "magic injunction," l'âr, for the totality of the Ibubanen: composite rabble, but whose ritual, economy, and a community of misfortune made a taqbilt.

[778]

Beyond the a. H'adduyws, the a. Âbdella, and the Ibubanen, one could multiply the examples. These three have been chosen as quite /68/ different ones in order to have stand out a common characteristic which does not owe anything to the unity of conditions: high-mountain conquerors for some, friable villagers of the piedmont, or disinherited vanquished -- these are indeed three different adventures. Whence the force of the impression that disentangles itself from them, and which one could formulate in the interrogative form: in this Seksawa ensemble, with such a characteristic personality, is there then nothing that might be truly Seksawa, I do not say in the historical objectivity, but in the consciousness, even the pretension of the inhabitants?

634 619 [173]

A Vestige of the Ancient Seksawa: the Ait D'alh'a (1)

1. Let us recall that we again found the name of T'alh'a in the oldest legendary genealogies of the Seksawa agellid-s. In this society, nothing is lost!

[Ait D'alh'a]

/68 cont./

634 619 Only a tiny handful of families are Seksawa in origin: a high-mountain group, the a. D'alh'a, and in the middle valley a branch of the a. Musa. Here is how this latter taqbilt is composed, the habitat of which is situated immediately downstream from the sacred place of Z'init', and which from this fact presents a certain importance. Its name, like that of the a. Abdella, 634 632 is connected with the royal dynasty. In detail, it is split up as 613 follows:

Subdivision	Ikhs	Habitat	Origin invoked
Half from above	a. H'aqqi.	Tabradjut-Agadir.	Sidi Amer u H'addo.
	a. H'amed.	--	Came from the Sous, with the Idma.
	a. Mzird'ad'.	--	They are from the residual a. Gasa.
	a. Jjaw.	--	Came from the a. Zemlal (a. H'adduyws).
Half from below	a. H'sayn.	T'abya.	They are from the residual a. Ish'âq.
	a. Khaled.	--	Sidi Amer u'Haddo.
	a. Ichchiyaân.	--	Demsira, "clients" of Sidi Mh'and.
	a. u Gella.	Igern-ssuq.	Dwiran in origin.
	a. Lâsri.	--	Ad'erd'ur (Idma).
	a. H'fid.	--	a. ba H'ammo (a. H'adduyws).
	a. Wammern.	--	Descendants of the marabout sidi Mh'and.

634 184 101 619 Thus the aggregate here is again composite. And nevertheless in this section of valley immediately below Z'init' there has maintained itself /69/ a branch of true Seksawa, a branch of the "King's sons." They share this privilege of authenticity only with

[Ait D'alh'a]

619 /69 cont./ They share this privilege of authenticity only with
634 the a. D'alh'a of the high valley, whose habitat is arranged, in
184 relation to the mausoleum of Sidi Amer u H'addo, just as theirs
101 is in relation to the sanctuary of Lala Aziza. Perhaps these are
[1718] two symmetrical witnesses treated kindly by the invasions. Between them, no continuity: the whole middle valley of the river has been dominated by the intruders or the excluded, the a. Gasa. This rupture marked the collapse of the national history. But two islets have remained, and perhaps their safety was not a matter of chance or of a particularly efficacious resistance. They have, in a way, existed as witnesses, and perhaps as "guarantors." Between them are arranged the new arrivals, between them are sheltered their conquerors. Because the conquest of the country altered neither its substance nor its name. The arrivals also call themselves Seksawa. Some of them even claim origin from
[1718] H'addô. The cult of the saints is thus continued. Z'init' remains up to a late epoch the foyer of asylum. The taqbilt-s still claim the old princely names of Musa and of Abdallah. The mystic patronages of the soil remain intact.

423 Finally, and more precisely, the immigrant considers his oc-
166 cupation valid only when he has duly bought the land from the
619 former owners: Demsira in the lower valleys, a. Gasa in the middle. Whence processes extremely nuanced and complicated, which have left their written traces. We shall see that in detail concerning the a. Gasa. But let us note from now on that the relationship of the a. Musa and of the a. H'adduyws, on both sides of the Idma, arises from certain features of the landed-property structure. The analysis of ownership brings a striking confirmation to the story here.

/In the original source the following paragraph is printed in small type./ A family of Iger n-ssuq, the a. Ibizzi, has estates in a. Bah'ammo in the high valley. Reciprocally, some a. H'adduyws of a. Zemlal possess some on the side of T'abya. Well downstream, in a. Abdella at Imi-n-tghli, the a. Anono (Idma) keep, with titles of origin, açl, an important joint property. In olden times, and still in the time of Lh'âjj H'fid', a famous

/69 cont./
423 family of this ikhs, that of the present amghar, even advanced
166 on this side. It is not surprising that in this expansion there might
619 have been a very deep feeling of recovery, of reconstitution of traditional ensembles. Such a hypothesis is not contradicted by the explanation given today of the simultaneous presence below T'abya of original owners from three groups: Idma, ait H'ad-duyws, and Dwiran. This coalition drove out the Demsira and divided their lands among themselves. But it is customary that these recoveries bring about re-establishment of legitimacy: their
619 archeological value is therefore probable.

173 /70/ Legendary origin of a part of this peopling, going back
[613] to the ikhs of the a. Khaled, that is, to the a. D'alh'a, that is, to the oldest Seksawa lineage -- or land distribution; there is an incontestable fact there: the symmetry of both sides of Z'init'. And a symmetry of which the most "legitimate" of the Seksawa are the agents. In this sense, it makes little difference whether this symmetry is an old vestige or arises from a recent restoration; the second hypothesis would perhaps be the most instructive.

Import of This Immigration From the South

166 The conclusion to be drawn from analyses that one could pro-
613 long indefinitely is that the great majority of the ikhs-s composing
619 the Seksawa today originate entirely from immigrants, and not from the authentic lineage, even though the latter is still represented and benefits from tokens of mystic and landed-property legitimacy.

This immigration comes from the South.

166 /In the original source the following four paragraphs are printed in small type./ No doubt we have turned up here and there an immigrant from the N. The case is particularly clear in Ibuban, where this origin gives rise to an instructive etiology.

173 The country of the Dukkâla was subject to a frightful tyranny.
166 One day a man received a visit from a soldier, who demanded
619 hospitality. This man was poor. He owned but one chicken,

/70 cont./

173 166 619 which he had to sacrifice for his guest. But he had an only son, who, exhausted by hunger, dared to strip a drumstick from the roast. The angry guest then threw the child to the ground. The father killed the soldier and fled to the Atlas.

General folkloric theme? Undoubtedly (1).

[171]

1. We again find the same legend in Kabylie /Kabylia/, and still in order to explain the group displacements. C. Devaux, Les Kebaïles du Djerdjera /The Kabyle of the Djurdjura/, 1859, p. 334.

But also a trace of the driving back suffered by the populations of the Haouz: the Dukkâla, up to the sixteenth century, descended to the outskirts of Marrakech. Let us record this legend for what it is worth. We also again find some Dukkâla in Gund'afa country.

Another legend, but one which refers to the South this time. It deals with a small group vassalized by the a. Lh'sen, the far-away Iguntar. Their traditional origin, Tagenturt of the a. Widjdjas of the Sous, is confirmed by the entanglement of the property of their various ikhs-s in sectors marking the successive steps of an old immigration. The legendary ancestor, Mh'and, had two sons, one Ah'chmud, from whom the present families of Tagen a descend, and another, Mh'and, whose offspring populated not only a part of Tannammert, in present-day Iguntar, but Tinmrutin, Tagadirt, Wallagô, Tajjdir in Demsira, /71/ partially also Akhferga and Amejnes of the Irohalen. These disjecta membra preserve among them the fixed bond of landed-property co-ownership, and once again the value of the land documents is striking.

[423]

166 619 [174] The fact is that in the great majority of cases it is an immigration from the Anti-Atlas or from the Sous, from the South in any case, that is related. This phenomenon of expansion from the S. toward the N. is a general phenomenon, confirmed by the

619 /71 cont./
166 rare analyses at our disposal concerning the composition of tribes
[174] of the Sous, such as a. Yah'ya and especially a. Wawzgit.
[464] This movement still exists, in the form of worker emigration, and there is to be seen in it a general rule whose significance exceeds the framework of the present work. The afflux of the allogeneous peoples doubtlessly followed phases of depopulation due
166 to epidemic, to the renewal of the forest (as in the history of
173 medieval Europe). The direction is from the S. toward the N.
776 This is what the hagiology recalls. sidi Mh'and comes from the
619 Ammeln of the Anti-Atlas. His companion Sidi Lh'sen is reputed generally to belong to the Idma and to come from the S. Sidi Abdallah u Sâid, of the a. Tamment, taps the offerings of several Seksawa groups, although, significantly, his own ancestor sidi Sâid did not succeed in organizing anything in our sector. Several old documents mention the action of marabouts of Taroudant. The legend of sidi Âmer u H'addo even runs over to the other side of the crests, in Idaw Mh'mud and up to Mentaga.

166 The correspondences with the South and with the North do not
619 present the same character. The Seksawa draw their material, their substance, from the South. But their historic calling, just like that of the groups that maintain them, draws them toward the North. This contrast, on the plane of collective and individual psychologies, is perhaps that of the structures and of the event, or, if one wishes, of the sociology and of the chronicle. But this continual contribution from the S. plays still another role. Renewing indefinitely the archaic basis of the cantons, as the latter become exhausted in the vicissitudes that they owe as much to the appeal as to the hostility of the plain, that is, in sum, to the attractions as well as to the harm of the Maghrebi empires, it keeps the terms of the problem intact: the Chleuh /Shluh/ montagnard is always opposed in the same way to the city and Bedouin world. Thanks to this constant rising of strength, he is not won over any more than he succumbs.

/74 cont./

487 174 619 masters, men and saints; and it is not without interest that the legend, the topography, and the archeology contribute to making one presume direct communication between sidi Âmer u H'addo, Lalla Aziza, and the first metropolises of the conqueror. It is by these constellations of forces, political and religious, that the elimination of the a. Gasa was made possible.

Legitimist Conquerors

The Achievement of the Idma

173 166 619 "From the south comes royalty," proclaims a Chleuh /Shluh/ song (2).

2. Justinard, "Notes sur l'histoire du Sous au XVI^e s. /Notes on the history of the Sous in the sixteenth century/," A.M., XXIX, 1934, p. 84.

And that is true of this part of Morocco, whose masters have come from the Anti-Atlas, or from even farther away. That can be judged by /75/ the history of a taqbilt with a rapacious and cunning personality, the Idma.

173 175 619 Tradition has them going back to a sherif from the Anti-Atlas. On the periphery of the Lkst, one in fact recognizes some Tudma. The al-Mançûr expedition (1580) subjugated some a. Tudma (1).

1. Justinard, Kunnâsh tr., in Notes sur l'histoire du Sous au XVI^e siècle, 1934, pp. 171, 179, 182. The Toudma can still be spotted even today in the same place.

In Ammeln, some shorfa of the same name are exempt from tribute. One of their families is that of the Awlâd sidi ^cAt'â'illah, among whom a certain Sidi Abû Zakariyâ, now buried in H'âh'a, was a contemporary of the golden Sâadian, who sent him back to Fès /Fez/. All of this is affirmed by

[Idma]

/75 cont./

173 175 619 documents, and as historical in the matter as is possible. The Idma of the Seksawa claim to be attached to these Awlâd sidi ᶜAt'a'illah shorfa. With respect to this, they exhibit a copy of an attested affidavit of Ṣafar 1087 (1676), a copy verified several times, the last of which in 1178 (1765).

173 175 ●166 619 According to this genealogy, sixteen generations ago, an immigration from the Anti-Atlas brought five sons of a sherif of the Anti-Atlas, Sidi Yah'ya b. Muh'ammad Maghagh (2).

2. Old Berbère name. Ibn H'azm, Jamharat, Lévi-Provençal ed., 1951, p. 462, l. 21, recognizes the Maghâga as the name of a group; Ibn Khaldûn, tr. Histoire des Berbères /History of the Berbers/, t. I, 1925, pp. 171, 232. Cf. on the name of Jannûn, Ibn H'azm, op. laud., p. 43, ll. 10 and 16 sq. (Idrisids).

to Usikis, from where they spread out through conquest. They bear archaic names: Jannûn, Aftûn, Danûq, Ghazâl, Isân, for which the oral tradition, at this same place in the genealogy, substituted five others, of Arabic aspect. Characteristic doublet. The arrival of the emigrants marks the crossing of a threshold, beyond which normality reigns. The unknown, the sacredness, the oddness -- or the authenticity -- of the appellations remains in the beyond, in a legendary murkiness. To these five immi- [613] grants are linked the present ikhs-s of the Idma, whose identity can be followed almost confidently through the three centuries covered by their archives. The descendants of Mh'and populate Usikis and Ad'erd'ur, those of ᶜAli Usikis and Tasselli, those of [1176] ᶜAbd al-Wâh'id Meghdir and Ad'er'd'ur. Sulaymân is the ancestor of the Iborach of Usikis and, in the sixth generation, of the saint of Assttif, Sidi Lh'sen u Mh'and. He is a historic personage whose paraph many documents brought forth from our day still bear. He lived in the second half of the seventeenth century. One can thus place the legendary arrival of the first Idma toward

[Idma]

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[166] /75 cont./ the end of the fifteenth century (3).

3. The Fawâ'id, Justinard tr., 1953, p. 56, register a sheik, Mûsâ-at-Tudmâwî, who left the Sous to settle in the Daran. He died in 1003 Heg.: 1595.

[176] The saint of Assttif precedes by six other /76/ generations another Idma saint, from a collateral lineage, Sidi Lh'sen u Bubker of Ad'erd'ur, specialist in the expulsion of spirits. With him, we are at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

361
619 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ Let us stop for a moment at the site of these two villages of Usikis and Ad'erd'ur, first settlement of the Idma. Usikis was their first stop, from which they progressively spread out. Its dignity is still eminent. It was almost always in this village that the chiefs were recruited. Their designation was brought about in comitia at Inraren Z'dinim and the college broke up only at Usikis, on the rock called Taunt n-Fad'ma H'ssayn, after the invocation of the saint of Ammern. The village is built in latitudes of a cruel desolation. Everywhere massive escarpments of black schist hang over it. Several clusters of houses, stuck on a puny esplanade, dominate the almost vertical drop of a prodigious staircase of fields. This spurt of human will surges [103] forth in a general aridity, which crushes it everywhere and which the toponyms themselves express: thus near the village there is a "field of hunger," bur n-lâz', just as a little higher there is a "source of hunger," talâint n-jju^{c}, or a "field of the Jew," iger n-bhenkuk. These derisive appellations aim at conjuring up [621] misery. But, visibly, only the tension of the group succeeds in maintaining life. It is expressed by the connivance of the saints and by a folkloric richness indicating a strong context of rite and legends. It is also expressed in rural order, in municipal quarreling, and in military expansion.

/79 cont./

The Ordeals of the Vassal

571 634 619 On both sides of the Idma, two vassal groups, the a. Mh'nd and the Imt'ddan. We shall never know from where their alliance came or what its procedure was. The Atlas presents such forms in an already adult or even decadent state. It is elsewhere, in the Moyen /Middle/ Atlas or in Mauretania, that it is necessary to go to seek, in order to catch them alive, the pacts between groups in their ritual richness (1).

1. Nevertheless de Foucauld has already presented a remarkable study of the "vassalage" and of the rite of dhabîh'a for the eastern Haut-Atlas and Drâ region. He has seen very well the major morphological role of these protections, Reconnaissance au Maroc /Discovery in Morocco/, 1888, pp. 130 sq. In Morocco, and for the recent period, let us cite two excellent articles by H. Bruno-G.-H. Bousquet, "Contribution à l'étude des pactes de protection et d'alliance chez les Berbères du Maroc central /A contribution to the study of the pacts of protection and of alliance among the Berbers of central Morocco/," Hesp., 1946, pp. 353 sq., and Dj. Jacques Meunié, "Les oasis des Lektaoûa et des Meh'amid /The oases of the Lektaoua and the Meh'amid/," Hesp., 1947, pp. 420 sq. But the Mauretanian and Touareg /Tuareg/ domain would give even more vivid colors.

[127] We grasp them here only secondhand and interpreted. The contribution of the Imt'ddan to this inquiry will consist therefore, not in recalling remote pacts, but in the historical usage to which they have given rise.

174 166 619 The Imt'ddan, they too, came from the Sous. In a type of place called Ighzer u Zerqi, in the Tazerwalt. It seems then that their expansion must be put in relation with that of this religious center, whether they were the distant scouts for it or, more

[Imt'ddan]

/79 cont./

174 probably, had been chased from it by the saint. Morocco's past
166 is full of these geographical movements, following a kind of
619 ideological eruption over a given point.

The first habitat was Tamt'ddit, not far from the forested crest that separates the Seksawa from the Dwiran. On the col itself is seen a "mansion," tarrut', of the saint of the Tazerwalt, Sidi Ah'med u Musa. From there the immigrants turned toward the main valley by a movement homologous to the one of their future Idma allies. Thus they too had to fight the ait Gasa. Moreover, they became ministers of Lalla Aziza. For the operations of their public life, they met above Tamt'ddit, at the place called /80/ Assarag (Agoni), a replica of the Inraren Z'dinin of
174 of the Idma. They elected two moqaddem-s yearly, and the
175 chronicle has faithfully listed the succession of the most striking
634 of these chiefs. /The following listings are in small type in the
619 original source./

Âbdennur n-a. H'sayn u Brahim, of Tamt'ddit, in 1002 Heg.: 1594.
Naçer u Moh'ammed Lâgid.
Naçer u Âli.
Âli Wah'man (a. Igejder of Tamt'ddit), then his son Sâid.

At this time the political power of the Imt'ddan, whose curve had classically evolved toward tyranny, was in the hands of a great amghar, Messâud u Jâa Benhd'id' Bwizgwman (died 1270 Heg. = 1861). He chased the a. Gasa from their last haunt, Tidli, in the Afuzar. He spread into Dwiran and Indmaghus. He secured for himself a great many pieces of land, which the taqbilt will will divide for itself into nine lots in 1277, for he died without male children, which is a just punishment.

Then they returned to the elected moqaddem, and these are successively:

Belkhir u Lah'sen.
Brahim u Lah'sen Aferyad'.
Messâud u Lah'sen, brother of Aferyad'.

619 /101/ chain. This feeling has its price. It is not unimportant that old Makhzen /makhzan/ protocol classes all these tribes, or at least those with which it is familiar, as "people of the Dir" [443] (Diyyar.). But observation of a market such as Imintanout orients 619 the research differently. The principal bulk of the exchanges is 438 made less between the two terms of the plain-mountain pair than 439 between the plain-mountain pair and the great South on the one side, Marrakech on the other (1).

[114] 1. That comes out in the evidence of the inquiry conducted on the spot, in the spring of 1952, by MM. Adam, Trystram, Granai, and several other researchers.

Imintanout is the relay toward the Haouz in a system in which 464 Goulimine is the relay toward Mauritania. Besides, like the Sons, 166 the Atlas is a great provider of seasonal or permanent manual 167 labor. A mass of wages and savings irrigates the country. The amplitude of this movement extends toward the N. up to the large towns of the coast. It goes far beyond the simple solidarities of Dir. It enlarges the economic and human cadre up to limits which, today at least, go beyond Morocco and even the Métropole.

121 The relation of the plain and the mountain is thus irreducible 619 to a simplistic dialogue. One divines a thousand connections that bind the partners, not solely between them, but the two of them to a world singularly larger than the picturesque isolation of the high cantons might make one presume. By degrees, it is the whole external articulation of a seemingly closed system that one is led to 174 examine. Now, beyond some historical indications, in part conjectural, we have at our disposal for such an examination only extrapolations from the present. The method is risky. Two precise elements nevertheless at the very least authorize the investigation. They are none other than those of the daily food: and, because of that, concrete and, in a certain measure, durable.

/102 cont./

243 justified. In case of a blockade, barley and maize always ensure
a minimum difficult to appraise, but consistent. The great
243 families of the past, insofar as one remembers them, tended to
173 a certain autarchy. The others produced in cereals a proportion
433 going, according to the affluence of the land, from a quarter to
a third of the needs. Such is still the actual state: one can form an
243 idea of it from the volume of family purchases at the souqs of the
43 Dir or, still more instructively, from those of the col at Timez-
221 gadiwin or Argana. The first trimester following a normal harvest
is not in deficit. From the middle of the agricultural year, all,
except the great ones, depend upon the outside. Market gar-
244 dening, it is true, adds a substantial contribution. Especially the
245 turnip; accessorily the carrot, the gourd. And even more the
433 fruits: walnuts, almonds, olives, simultaneously or separately,
[146] depending on the altitude. The value in calories produced per
unit of surface of these last cultivations greatly exceeds that of the
cereals. The equivalences which one could thus establish would
expand notably the agricultural space of populations whose pictur-
esque escarpments, viewed from a little too far, seem to reduce
to a permanent scarcity. There would indeed be some ideas to
revise on that.

166 Finally, it is necessary to take account of the emigration,
167 which removes, as one knows, a noticeable proportion of con-
sumers, at the same time that it transforms them into im-
porters of "devises" /currency/, and this latter term is surely not
out of place, for these relations stand out in international ex-
change. As old as they appear, they depend on the political con-
619 juncture and are subject /103/ to variation. A comparison that
648 comes to mind and which is prompted by the very appearance of
the country, with its cliff hanging over the plain, is fishing.
Everything happens as if the relations with the plain were those of
a coast people, be it with the littoral waters, and there we have
the Dir relations properly speaking -- be it with faraway seas: the
emigration. Coastal fishing and high-seas fishing, on the one
hand, international relations around the border markets and in-
termediate places such as Imintanout on the other hand:

[Ait Mh'nd]

/178 cont./

634 that was reflected up to the last times of siba /revolt/ in the
613 political rivalry between the two original ikhs-s: a. Umghar and
173 a. Bakhkha. The former was traditionally devoted to municipal
669 preponderance. The latter, to the agricultural initium. Neutral, the ikhs of the Imzilen provided conciliators: it was again asked recently, by a tumultuary election, for a customary judge. The a. Lamin started the war. The ait Umghar, having formed an alliance with the Idma and their emerging dynasty, the a. Anunu, consolidated their own power and ensured the advantage to the amghar Abdesslam b. Abdelmalek, father of the present chief.

634 Today, the a. Mh'nd include 120 foyers, to which it is
619 proper to add 44 emigrant ones, more or less settled outside.
592 These figures, at the time of the 1929 investigation, were respec-
162 tively 100 and 13 hearths. Progression of 1/5 in 20 years.

/179/ An Archaic Emigration

166 This emigration is an ancient phenomenon. The travelers
167 establish residence in the country of their choice, but keep their lands in their native country. They are seen again at harvest time. In April, 1951, a force of 60 men, that is, one from every two foyers, descended into the plain for the harvest. On the other hand, a worker emigration is still unknown.

About a third of the a. Mh'nd have settled outside of the
[179] Seksawa. This phenomenon, of ancient type, and not yet influenced by the industrial thrust of Morocco, doubtlessly has a certain documentary value. Among these emigrant foyers one counts: 1 settled in Marrakech, 4 in Casablanca, 3 at Imintanout, 3 at Agadir Inflas (Dwiran), 8 in ait Abdella, 2 at Ghdir Bnan, 4 in Ud Didan, 3 in Ud Mumna, 4 at Lalla^{c}Ariba, 1 in Ud Sawla (Ud Besseba^{c}), 10 at Tafttacht (Chyad'ma), 1 in ait ^{c}Aliwach (Mjjat'). That is, all departed toward the north.

It seemed interesting to find again in the plain, where they are within direct reach of the investigation, some of these temporary or definitive emigrants.

166 Brahim u H'ammo n-a. Umzil (60 years old), although living
159 at Agadir Inflas (Dwiran), still has all his relatives in a. Mh'nd.

[Ait Mh'nd]

/179 cont./

166
159 From the time he was 40, he has shuttled between the two villages; it is doubtlessly his example that made several of his neighbors decide to settle, like him, in the plain. In a. Mh'nd he has kept some lands, which his son exploits. He trades at Agadir Inflas, despite his already old blindness. He is married to a woman from the Dwiran and counts on ending his days in the plain.

Lh'sen u Abdallah n-a. Barka (40 years old) came to Takennurt (lower Seksawa) in 1945 (famine). He lost his lands in ait Mh'nd, but has not given up getting them back. For the time being, he cultivates his wife's field at Takennurt. His wife, originally from the ait Abdella, has given him three children. He regards himself as established in residence; nevertheless he still has a nephew in a. Mh'nd.

His nephew Moh'ammed u Ali n-a Barka (30 years old) emigrated in 1945 (famine) to Agadir Inflas (Dwiran), lives there without land, as an agricultural day-laborer. He has kept some fields and a house in a. Mh'nd, to which he hopes to return one day. Married to a woman from the a. Lh'sen and father of 4 children.

Lh'oseyn b. Lkhd'ir n-a. Abdennur (50 years old) has no lands at Ilutjan (Bas /Lower/ Seksawa), but he possesses some in a. Mh'nd, where his son has stayed to cultivate them. At Ilutjan, he lives as an agricultural associate /Fr. associé, associate, partner, member/, has married a foreign woman (Idma), from whom he has five children. He does not count on remaining at Ilutjan forever, but on going back to end his days in the country.

Moh'ammed u Bella n-a. Umzil (35 years old) has been at Bu^{c}wân for only a year. He does not have lands here, but keeps some in a. Mh'nd, from where poverty drove him. Married to a woman from his home, he counts on returning for the harvest and coming back only for the next tillage, still as an agricultural associate.

Nearly analogous case of Abdallah u Moh'ammed (40 years old), working at Agadir Inflas as khammès /settler to whom one fifth of the produce is allowed/, of Lh'oseyn u Lh'sen n-a. Barka (40 years old), hireling at Taqennurt, of Lh'sen u Abdallah (20 years old), khammès at Tizi Wargyun, and of several other young men.

[Ait Mh'nd]

166 159 /180/ Moh'ammed u Ah'med n-a. Umzil (45 years old) has been settled since his youth at Bul^{c}wân, as a client of the amghar. He has built himself a house and is considered a man of the country, although his wife is also from the a. Mh'nd. He considers himself permanently established. Similarly, his relative Lh'sen u Ah'med, although he still shuttles to and from the mountains.

Addi u Moh'ammed n-a. Umzil (55 years old) has been at Ilutjan as khammès since his youth. One day he married a woman from Ilutjan and acquired some lands at the place. He nevertheless returns to the mountains each year in order to buy walnuts.

His relative Ali u Moh'ammed (50 years old), who similarly married at Ilutjan, lost his wife and has been married again to a compatriot. But he has kept some lands at Ilutjan, where he is permanently established.

166 This report, made on the spot by L. Robine, who should indeed find here an expression of my gratitude, gives information on about a dozen individual cases. The same inquiry, carried out at Tafttacht in Chyâd'ma, gives another nuance: that of people naturalized earlier in a foreign tribe, but still preserving more or less this landed and sentimental tie with the village of origin.

However that may be, and even being a matter of the limited sector at the outlet of the Seksawa in the Dir, this emigration, thus fixed at different moments of age and antiquity, does not fail to illustrate the essential mobility -- arrivals and departers -- of the population in the western Haut-Atlas. But this mobility modifies neither the basic rhythms nor structures.

Improving the Ground

241 The a. Mh'nd ground, in relation to the rest of the valley agriculture, constitutes quite a strong unit, as the figures below prove: cereal cultivation, irrigated, barley, 50 ha. -- maize, 25 ha.; dry, barley, 32 ha. Arboriculture: 1,590 almond trees [233] irrigated, 5,750 dry; 2,230 walnut trees. Let us add a stock of 195 [556] bovines, 470 ovines, 720 goats. Sign of affluence: 14 mules.

241 233 To each of these activities, irrigated crops, dry crops, livestock breeding, correspond organized sectors, among which some

[Ibuban]

/207 cont./

133 [137] dangerously close. To the N. and N.-E. it is still covered by a forest of holm oaks, junipers, and lentisks, where the villages have had to clear a place for themselves parsimoniously. To the S. the lands of Iwulla almost reach as far as the village of Tugg Lkheyr, hanging over it by the Awrir i-ysemgan, "the hill of the Negroes," with colossal populations of opuntia. To the E. the country is cut not only by the valley of the asif n.-a. Lh'sen, but by the high brows of the Amuddur (2,075 meters), through the Wanz'id' possessions which advance to the north like a duck's bill to rejoin the /208/ domain of the a. Lh'sen "of below" (Awines and Buteghradin). The pasturage is so restricted, especially on the side of the Ameznir, that these schistose slopes are delimited among ikhs-s users. This notably at Tugg Lkheyr and Timskert, where this division of the sterile wasteland appears to have been pushed to its last degree and to have developed a whole red tape of documents of ownership.

233 423 613

166 Yet this mutilated sector represents a reordering, due to the intervention of the "caid" Lmokhtar, for whom one will note the topographical strategy, adroit at reserving for his what we call the lines of communication. Formerly, the a. Lh'sen of Awines had occupied the Ibuban. The present inhabitants, of heteroclite and successive origins, settled by way of purchase. But the avarice of these driven-back populations enabled them to overflow it anew on the, not political, but juridical plane. They bought lands from their neighbors from Ammern and a. Musa, in the Ilikri.

166 432

312 [242] Nothing more precarious seemingly than this country without water. Barely two or three miserable sources, all just suitable to give drink to the villages and to support, at the price of a long-term rotation (12 days for three ikhs-s at Timskert, for example), a few poor patches of gourds and onions. The only resource is that of the streaming water. It nevertheless appears considerable in case of heavy rain. The reserves of the soil, long stored, then liquefy. One has barley for four or five years. Or one waits for the storm, rrāda, which in general at the end of August marks the time of the musêm of Tamarut, in Demsira, to "carry off" a

241

[Ibuban]
[Imt'ddan]

/209 cont./

182 On the other hand, this driven-back economy has sought in a very instructive fashion to survive: it is an albur /see p. 38/ island in the mountains, an island in dry mountains, a corner, one might say, of the Anti-Atlas. An equilibrium has been sought, not in the obstinate hydraulic work, because there is no water, but in the nonchalant exploitation of the almond tree and the opuntia. In sum, recourse to the harvest. Correlatively, the rhythm of life here is much less active than in the neighboring
181 valleys. Long chats in the /210/ sun, on the plaza of the timezgida, inertia and routine have deeply tarnished the local character. To that are added other characteristics, resulting from history, and the ensemble of which makes up a physiognomy of decadence. The communal order does not completely govern the division of the ground. The pasturage is appropriated. The absence of irrigation resources has driven this mountain population to a steppe culture. It is doubtlessly not by chance that, contrary to the atmosphere of the other cantons, inequality should have arisen from the inclemency of the conditions of life. This poor canton contains several "rich ones" and is still today, by an apparent paradox, the one that provides some of the biggest shares of the tax. Poverty and defeat here have broken up the communal order based on equality and obstinacy, and these miseries are only incompletely compensated for by the mysterious agricultural power of the "old people."

...F. Imt'ddan

613 [634] [166] The 4 Imt'ddan ikhs-s have swarmed from a metropolis, the present Tamt'ddit, to spread over a vast canton. Territorial expansion and social segmentation go hand in hand. Still today the tie between people and groups is by no means that of habitat by villages, but that of classification in one or another of the ikhs-s of origin. Nevertheless, the proliferation of the latter is starting to obscure the consciousness of the ensemble, and at the outset unanimity on the balance of the present subdivisions is no longer to be had.

Beyond that
578 /266 cont./ there is emigration, a frequent
42 form of protest against an oppressor judged for the moment to be
166 stronger and against whom one insists on one's rights. It is in
this way that the notarial practice knows "safeguard" acts,
istih'fâz', most often confused with those of istir^{c}â'. Whence,
moreover, the frequent allegation of absence, interruptive of
prescription, in instances of a more complex and more mature
turn to which the revendication of land gives rise. Evidently,
the Mussulman theory of the ghayba, "imprescriptibility based on
absence," has provided there only a convenient cadre for an old,
local notion, both economic and ritual: the absent one is also
the suppliant. His flight obscurely "obligates" the one provok-
ing it.

578 These manifestations do not go, as in other societies, so far
562 as the man's suicide. But it is striking that the Chleuh /Shluh/
762 woman rather frequently has recourse to this genre of protestation.
She hangs herself or throws herself into a cistern. And, in fact,
in spite /267/ of the juridical capacity which not only the law but
the mores recognize for her, and which her psychological propen-
sity makes her exercise fully, her life in certain respects is more
amenable to an extrajuridical plane than that of the man. Per-
haps because of lesser communal implication: economy of the
gift during the long betrothal, assiduous practice of magic, re-
lationships of fides in the marriage state, recognized aptitude for
imprecatory procedures. It is in these perspectives that it is
necessary to study the act, rich in social consequences, that the
suicide of the woman constitutes, an act relatively frequent, and
which manifests the rupture, voluntary or not, of the bond of the
group. Most often it is a solemn protestation against the wrong
762 suffered. But it may also result from a disorder inflicted by
784 mysterious powers. For example, during the winter of 1953, all
787 the women of Usikis incurred the anger of a saint by collecting
herbs in the reserved meadows of the Tasila. They were seized
by "demoniac" manifestations that in one or two cases went

423 /354 cont./
181 existence is only picturesque chance or corresponds to something historic.

423 829 Two adages, reproduced by the Chleuh /Shluh/ jurists, illustrate the two faces of the problem (1).

1. J. Berque, "Les Ajwiba d'al-ᶜAbbâsî/The Ajwiba of al-ᶜAbbâsî/," R. al., 1950, note to §10.

"The field," says as-Suktânî, "is, in the Sous, more essential than the house elsewhere." "Our fields," says an author from the Ammeln, "are our money. Therefore we use them as someone else would use money." How the permanent landowner-foundation of this society can arrive at a completely fiduciary mobility, this is what we are going to try to understand.

423 The space, I mean the irrigated and valorized space in which this life moves, is madly exiguous. Figures have been given that would illustrate to the eyes of the economist the fundamental futility of it: something like a humanity upon flower pots! But
423 this very unsufficiency seems to have at all times contributed,
166 along with other factors, to the practice of emigration. Depar-
167 tures, seasonal or for a longer term, descents, coastal or deep-sea,
174 if I may venture to say it, to the plain, desertion before famine or sickness, evacuation before the enemy, movements provoked by distress or aggressiveness: quite an intense vibration of groups and individuals is to be divined in the past. Whence these still /355/ identifiable deposits left by layers of vanished populations: a. H'ogg^{w}a, a. Ish'aq, a. Gasa in the Moyen /Middle/ and the Haut /Upper/ Seksawa. Indications of a violent past, certainly. But
423 violence in itself alone does not explain everything. Landed-
425 property legitimacy is irreducible here. The best proof of this is that in the case of military conquest the conqueror himself judges his right insufficient as long as he has not succeeded, by long and difficult negotiations, in consolidating his land expropriation by regular purchase. Here are three examples of this.

/14 cont./ Accordingly, when bad harvests follow one another too closely, the less favored regions first cast the people back toward the springs and séguias; then, if the rains still delay, as happens several times a century, famine chases families and flocks toward the plains of the Gharb /Rharb/. Tribal migrations in the wake of wars and epidemics further accelerate this perpetual stir. The result of these internal movements is to facilitate the fusion of races, unify culture, and give to the elements that form the "Chleuh" /Shluh/ group common characteristics that distinguish it easily from the other Berbère /Berber/ populations.

VII. The roads of the Atlas and of the Anti-Atlas. -- Whatever may be the richness of the central valley of the Sous wadi, which the Zagmoûzen, the Haut-Dra, and the Dadès produce between the two chains, it is not in this part of the Moroccan South that one can observe the most original manifestations of the social life of the Berbères /Berbers/. The latter are not at ease in the qsour /fortified places/ and the big villages in the midst of the séguias and gardens. There they encounter the "haraten" /Haratin/ -- descendants of black slaves -- the /15/ Arabs who have entered the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the shorfa /shurfa/, and the marabouts, attracted by the fertility of the land. The population of the oases resulting from this mixture of races soon loses all its warlike qualities and most often falls under the domination of foreign leaders or of the more bellicose tribes in the vicinity. The true territory of the autochthons remains the mountains, and it is by studying the groups that occupy them and remain the most active and the most numerous that we shall succeed at the same time in understanding what influences are exerted on the lives of the inhabitants of the plains.

The Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and the Anti-Atlas do not by any means constitute an impassable barrier. They are crossed by numerous passes, which take the line of the valleys, by which constant relations are established between the two versants, so that the displacement of people, the migration of families and tribes are scarcely stopped by the obstacle of the mountains.

/19 cont./

133 deserve the name of "Igherm" -- fortress -- which the Ait
[103] Waouzgit like to give it.

This strange mass, in reddish hues, is dominated by isolated peaks that rise here and there in the middle of a huge volcanic plateau. Basalt ridges profile their fantastic lines in the sky, while at their feet large villages, dominated by immense storehouses, live under a hot sun, in the vicinity of sources of water fed by the melting of the snows of spring. It is on the flanks of
[361] this volcano that the confederation of the Aît Waouzgit has re-
[619] mained established for long centuries. Having descended /20/ from the plateau in order to colonize the valleys, the tribes of the Sirwa have moreover mingled with those of the two great chains in the vicinity, but without ever completely abandoning their traditions and their own characteristics.

The various parts of the Anti-Atlas are more difficult to separate from one another. To the east the chain is so worn down that only a few peaks of eruptive rocks exist as witnesses. This is the country of the vast plateaus of the Zenaga and Souktana, whose lands would be fertile if the sky did not already have the inexorable limpidity of the Sahara.

Farther on, in the central Anti-Atlas, between the valley of the Inda ou Zal and the territory of the Aît Abdallah and of the Ilalen, the mountains rise to form the peaks of the Fidoust and the Adrar Waklim at 2,200 meters in altitude, yet on the line of the crests the plateaus extend in a gentle slope on the two ver-
[361] sants. Here again a man's life is hard; the best harvests are poor, and only a few villages surrounded by almond trees prosper near the summits and springs. Toward the Sahara the wadis hollow out deep cuts, and the springs that sometimes appear in their dried-up beds support palm groves already similar in their external appearance to the ones of the Bani.

133 In a country so difficult, the problem of material subsistence
181 dominates all others. It absorbs all forces, and, since local re-
182 sources remain insufficient, temporary emigration becomes a pressing necessity. A man's energy is consumed in the course of
[166] this constant struggle; activity turns away from political life

/46 cont./

43 Nevertheless, formerly, in the isolation of this region, a
182 balanced regime had been established here; at the cost of some
• [166] privations, a population that remained retired within itself suc-
[731] ceeded in providing for itself, especially in the mountains; it did not have to call on the outside to increase its resources -- in the form of temporary emigration of the able-bodied men -- except at times of famine. Moreover, the profits which the Chleuhs /Shluh/ know how to make from the trade that they carry on in the towns even used to give certain tribes -- /47/ the Aït ʿAïsi and the Aït Mzal, for example -- actual prosperity.

433 But this fragile economy was to be upset by the opening of
439 Morocco to European markets in the nineteenth century. So poor
182 a country was indeed tempted to improve its difficult conditions
179 of existence by importing foodstuffs, clothing, and manufactured objects; but at the same time its purchases were contributing
[631] toward exhausting it. Moreover, since the establishment of the power of the great chiefs and kaids over the independent communities had the consequence of imposing heavy burdens on the tribes, the economic ruin of the Sous was to be brought about in two generations of people.

433 In truth, the various parts of the country found themselves
184 unequally affected by this transformation, according to their
182 initial state of poverty, the way of life of their inhabitants, and
179 their degree of penetration by the modern economy.

511 In the mountainous regions, at least where the political evo-
556 lution has not noticeably altered the primitive conditions of the people, there are neither true poor nor true rich. Each Berbère
[184] /Berber/ possesses a small flock of sheep and goats, and in the
[422] bottom of the valley some cultivated terraces, big walnut trees
[423] irrigated by the séguias, and almond trees on the flank of the mountain. Barley, rye, maize, turnips, long garlands of which dry hung along the houses, suffice for daily subsistence. Goats or sheep are sacrificed only on festival days or when a guest
511 comes by. Clothing does not require any great expense. That of
556 the women is made of a very long piece of brown wool with
291 which the body is adroitly draped and which is held above the

/152 cont./

*634 [184] III. The "taqbilt," fraction or canton. -- Several "mouda^{c}," most often four or five on the north versant of the Atlas, three on the south versant, unite in order to participate equally in the common duties of a little state for which the Berbères /Berbers/ in the region of the Tichka reserve more specially the name of "taqbilt."

The jem^{c}a of the "taqbilt" formed by all the heads of all the ancient families of the various "mouda^{c}" is really the most lively and the most active political organism, which attests best to the vigor of the local institutions; administrative, legislative, executive powers are mingled in its bosom. It watches over the interests of the community and particularly ensures the defense and the inviolability of the borders.

We shall not examine here the institutions of the "taqbilt" and the role of its council; for the moment we shall only try to define the morphological characteristics of this social group, whose importance will appear incessantly greater in the course of this study.

It is above all the geographical unity of the territory, the feeling that it constitutes the community's own property, whatever may be the /153/ sudden changes in successful wars or defeats, that give the "taqbilt" its personality and govern its external activity. Certainly it happens that as a result of struggles with neighboring fractions a hamlet situated on the border of a weak state detaches itself in order to go to seek the protection of another energetic "taqbilt" capable of supporting its "brothers." At other times one also sees a small colony of strangers, driven from their own territory as a result of reverses undergone in the struggle of family groups, settle in part of the country for a time. When these foreigners are numerous and their hosts are not in a position to absorb them, the emigrants' village renews relations little by little with its country of origin; soon it constitutes an irreducible islet within the "taqbilt" that accepted it and later gives rise to an autonomous "taqbilt." But these doings are exceptional in the high mountains; most of the territories of these small elementary

*634 -166 609

/153 cont./

*634 states are stable, have traditional borders, and do not contain
•166 within their frontiers any foreigner who might refer to "brothers"
609 of a neighboring fraction.

632 A territory of eight to ten kilometers in diameter, three or
*634 four "mouda^{c}" that gather together in all the population of about 15 hamlets, at other times only one or two large villages, like those found in the summit region, in all two to three hundred hearths, thus suffice in order to constitute a small autonomous
*634 Berbère /Berber/ republic and to form a "canton." The borders
131 of this canton are not always established according to the natural geographical borders; if each high valley most often has its "taqbilt," it is because the country's natural division into compartments is set precisely at the dimensions that correspond to a small state of a few hundred families; but when it is a matter of a long watercourse, such as the Ogdemt, the Aghbar, the Asif Nefis, the Asif el Mal, each small state carves out the area that it needs in the valley and establishes itself in its way within the too-large borders traced out by Nature.

*634 It is indeed the unity of the territory, the concern for defend-
619 ing it or increasing it that create among the families of the same canton a lasting social bond; and not, as the natives themselves often believe, the feeling of a common origin. Even though the name given to the taqbilt (A'lt Lhasen, A'lt ^{c}Abdallah, A'lt Mousa) tends sometimes to make one suppose that all its inhabitants are the sons of a /154/ common ancestor, it is easy to see that this belief is pure illusion. We have mentioned the importance of the
*634 economic factors that create even within the Sous region a constant
166 human circulation. The high mountains in the region that we are studying here do not escape these population movements; it even seems that the ethnic "brassage" /mixing, stirring/ might be more active here. In one of the cantons of the Aghbar, among the A'lt Lemsour, for example, out of 17 families or "ikhs" settled in the country, not one considers itself autochthonous; in the neighboring country of the Seksawa, which the inhabitants of the plain are apt to regard as the territory of a very ancient tribe, one finds pell-mell families that came from other mountain tribes of

/154 cont./

*634 -166 the vicinity or even from the Azaghar of Marrakech, from the valley of the Sous, from the Oued Noun /Uad Nun/. A little more to the West, the territory of the Ida ou Tanan is no better closed to foreigners (1).

[113]

1. On the rapid renewal of the population within the "taqbilt," cf. our monographs on Massat (Hespéris, 1924, p. 378), on the Aghbar (Hespéris, 1927, p. 9), on the Ida ou Tanan (Revue des Études islamiques, 1927, p. 225).

The constant renewal of the population is the consequence of famines, sicknesses, exiles, and banishments; new arrivals join the mass of those who have preceded them and who are already established within the precise limits of the "taqbilt." But in this perpetual renewal of the individual elements that constitute the social group, the form of the small state, its frontiers and its structure remain unchanged.

*634 184 [619] [131] *634 184 174 178 IV. The existence of the "taqbilt" or cantons is general throughout the Sous. -- In the region of the Tichka, many "taqbilt" are independent; such are the Imedlaoun, Tigouga, Ida Ou Msattog. Others group together to form tribes, like the Ida Ou Mhamoud, the Seksawa, the Demsira, all while keeping their full freedom; it is the same in the part of the territory of the Gedmiwa remaining unsubjugated, on the north versant of the Igdad. The boundaries of former cantons are still very apparent in the whole valley of the Nefis and of the Asif el Mal in the mountains. In all of the country confined between the Nefis and the Bibaoun road, local investigations would permit easily finding again the recollection of a very large number of identical units -- 120 /155/ approximately (1)

1. This state of division appears to be very ancient in the region that we have just studied.

609 /245 cont./

574

[344] I. The hospitality. -- There does not exist in the high val-

[485] leys of the Atlas any tribal house intended for meetings of the assembly and for the sheltering of passing guests, such as the ones that were observed by de Foucauld at the edge of the desert.

*[634] Strangers, /246/ few in number besides, could not stay in the

[162] country more than one or two days; if they wanted to linger there, they would have to settle down in the fraction in the capacity of inhabitants, "soukkan." Those who wish to settle in this way for

609 some time in the villages put themselves under the protection of

57 a rich man and take shelter modestly in a small enclosure that

556 they construct on one side of the master's house. Most often the

563 latter is personally responsible for the crimes or offenses of which

[672] the "soukkan" on whom he has agreed to exercise his patronage

[464] may become guilty. Hired for their work, they remain foreigners.

609 Even after a year's sojourn, they are not always subject to the

641 obligations of war or taxes that weigh on the inhabitants of the

563 country. On the other hand, in the fractions of the plain, where the renewal of the population is much more active, the foreigner can acquire citizenship after a short stay.

609 When it happens that foreigners present themselves in num-

•166 bers at the frontier of a "taqbilt," driven out by internal wars or

*634 vengeances that are practiced against them in their canton of

563 origin, a consultation of the jema'a of the "inflas" is necessary in order to enable them to settle down. If they are approved and their presence can strengthen the group that gives them refuge, they settle down to live with their flocks in part of the valley and build a hamlet, but they by no means participate in the government of the fraction that accepts them. Long years are necessary for them to come to find their place on the council.

It is unparalleled in the Sous that new arrivals would have had to buy citizenship for money. In critical periods, weak fractions have gladly appealed to outsiders for reinforcement, and even give them money, grain, or nuts to facilitate their establishment; but often the situation of the latter remains precarious

/246 cont./
609 and a change in external policy can have their expulsion as a
•166 consequence (1).
*634
563

1. Cf. above, Book II, Ch. III, pp. 245-246.

[681] At other times, too, a group that fears being reduced by the exodus of families decrees penalties against those who try to pass into neighboring fractions. In this domain there is no general [619] rule, and each "taqbilt," each "khoms" or tribe is inspired by its own interest.

474 /247/ II. The mutual aid and the contributions. -- Under
171 the name of "ouzia" one finds throughout the South of Morocco
681 the Kabyle custom of the "timecheret," purchase in common of
574 an animal whose flesh is to be distributed among all the inhabitants of the village; but the "ouzia" here most often preserves a religious character, and this practice does not become, as in the Djurjura, the occasion for obliging the inhabitants guilty of infractions of the laws of the city to offer a good meal to the whole village.

681 Here the benefit of the "imensi n tqbilt," solemn meal that
574 the criminal or delinquent gives to repair the moral wrong that he has done to the community, is reserved solely to the Aït Arbaᶜin,
* 634 to the inflas of the senate of the canton. The "imensi ntqbilt," the "supper of the tribe," is, besides, a good windfall for the notables themselves, who are satisfied in everyday life with meager fare. The desire to have a good supper free of charge readily inclines the Aït Arbaᶜin to give proof of great severity in the repression of offenses.

466 The corvées for plowing, harvesting, and transporting manure
476 are the occasion of manifestations of disinterested mutual aid to which the name of "touiza" is given. The "touiza" is granted to all who ask for it. One who cannot plow his field because of his [571] poverty makes a "ᶜar" to the jemaᶜa in the form of a lump of [154] sugar; on the next day the workers assemble and come to the aid of the unfortunate one or the widow without support.

/351 cont./

175 Izoggweir of the Zagmouzen. Caliphates who belong to the
*631 families of Telwet or of the Ouneila, long allied with the kaid,
*634 stay in these fortresses. Around them a guard of Glawa mokhaznis
727 makes order prevail and transmits the casbah's instructions to the
712 sheiks; the essential function of these representatives of the Makh-
zen /makhzan/ is to demand from the inhabitants the highest contributions that they are capable of furnishing. They remain indifferent to the internal life of the cantons or of the villages, about whose past and customs they are entirely ignorant. They are foreigners who have come to get rich and who accept their sojourn in the midst of hostile tribes because of the sizable profits that they can reap from them.

In the neighboring tribe of the Souktana conquered shortly afterward, the exploitation /352/ of the country is done in a slightly different manner. The large casbah of Taliwin, in which
[651] Imassin shorfa /shurfa/ of the Dadès, allied with the Glawa, stay as caliphates, contains the "frida" collected by mokhaznis established in the eight command-houses scattered in the small territory; thus all the resources of the country are drained in the most rapid and the most complete manner.

175 The weakening of the country, crushed by the successive con-
*631 tributions, is such that a few men suffice to maintain order in it.
*634 This regime, under which a sizable part of the Aït Waouzgit tribes
727 live in our day, was that of the Gedmiwa of the plains at the time of the fleeting domination of the Mtougga and Glawa from 1906 to 1910, or even at present that of the Ida Ou Ziki and Nfifa in the command of the Mtougga. The general impoverishment that re-
• [166] sults from this intensive exploitation leads to the emigration of a large part of the inhabitants and a constant diminution of the returns from the land.

Only a few distant cantons of the high mountains, sometimes treated with respect by reason of the ancient alliances and services rendered, such as the Aït Tawiya and the Ikhzamen of the summit of the Sirwa, succeed in escaping the general ruin. So the inhabitants try as much as possible to live apart and not attract, in the solitude of the summits, the attention of the caliphates of the plains.

/412 cont./

*631 this progress still remains precarious, since passions, restrained
648 during the years in which the authority of the Sultan's representa-
17 tives is exercised without being contested, break out anew at the
[578] first "siba," with a still greater violence. The peace in which
[669] the new subjects then live is bought by the destruction of most of the traditions and customs, habitudes of local government and of primitive justice, which for the inhabitants of the mountains are inseparable from their very life.

[792] The marabouts, whose arbitration was exercised not only to stop the battles of cantons and tribes but also to settle in compliance with equity differences of a private nature, disappeared first; no longer do we see them intervene with sheiks and kaids to defend the poor and weak as they were privileged to do with the senates of "inflas" in the time of freedom. The old tribal law
[671] ceases to be /413/ applied and often the day of submission marks
[693] that of its effacement. It makes way for the more distant and abstract justice of the cadis, whose complaisance toward the new leaders is obvious.

*[634] At the same time, most of the economic institutions of the
[343] small Berbère /Berber/ cantons, whose regular functioning re-
[712] quired the deliberation of family representatives, are smitten with
[652] decline; the agadirs fall in ruins, the common treasuries are
[466] squandered, the corvées for mutual aid become irregular, main-
[653] tenance of the séguias and roads, even the protection of the crops are no longer the object of the same care as in former times.

Finally, ownership of the land, so profoundly disturbed in cer-
[423] tain regions near the casbahs of the great chiefs, becomes uncer-
•[166] tain; the constitution of the large domains of the kaids of the Atlas entails, in a country already too poor to feed its inhabitants, the disappearance of a large number of villages and the progressive exodus of the Berbères /Berbers/ toward regions where the security of possessions and persons is more certain.

[735] When the domination of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is established without intermediaries and allows all its weight to bear down on the tribes, thanks to the unlimited authority of foreign leaders, one sees profound poverty develop; one of the most constant principles

/416 cont./

648 [178] In the land of the amghars of the Seksawa, one already sees being held, by means of the new peace, assemblies of notables who are trying, under France's authority, to revive what can be saved of the former tribal law.

000 We shall not discuss again here the violence of the forces of resistance that the European penetration has caused to rise in the Rif; doubtless the spirit of holy war, remaining so tenacious in the north of Morocco, more than a true feeling of patriotism, aroused the rebellion led by ʿAbd el Kerim; but it is certain that the Berbère /Berber/ energies usually spent in village quarrels were assembled at one stroke, oriented toward the same end; so that we were able to measure their fearsome strength. By observing the commotion propagated by this movement in all the dissident or subject mountain regions from the central Atlas to the Tafilelt and from the western Atlas to the Sous plains, it was possible for us at the same time to perceive the destructive power that was preserved by the dream of independence and of "siba" in which the tribes seek, spontaneously and by a kind of instinct, the remedy for their ills.

648 179 • 166 *634 Berbèrie /Barbary/ moreover gives us other evidence, more peaceful or more humble, but no less obvious, of the inner life that continues to quicken it. Thus the so tenacious strength of that mysterious tie by which the inhabitants of the same canton, of the same tribe are united does not appear to be at all diminished up to the present by the new conditions of existence that the French peace brought to the Sous. The populations of the Dir, for example, formerly concentrated in their fortified villages of the last slopes of the Atlas, at present colonize the large plains /417/ that stretch at their feet. But the inhabitants who thus leave the mountains do not settle at random and in confusion in the "Azaghar." Most often we see them unite again in villages that are the colonies founded by the fractions of the Dir; consequently the plains tribe is arranged in the likeness of the one that was settled for a long time in the Atlas.

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

hundred families scattered in a dozen or so dispersed hamlets or three or four larger villages. In most areas of the Shluh country, these traditionally constitute practically independent republics: 634

> ... [The districts] are vital organisms. Small though they be they have to be considered for all practical purposes as true states. The feeling of attachment to the canton [sic] is narrowly territorial and is enhanced by the fact that in a mountain area there inevitably must be, if only for military reasons, some adjustment of the size of each social unit to the natural dimensions of hills and valleys. Nevertheless, as Robert Montagne discovered, the cantonal territories proper tend to be of fairly equal size throughout the Berber lands. For the limits of the canton do not quite coincide with the natural boundaries of these mountain habitats, but may fall short of them, a canton occupying only the space it actually requires, ignoring the more generous expanse offered by nature. This standard size of the cantons is due to organizational reasons. The cantons are ruled by assemblies (djema'a) of notables (inflas) or heads of the extended families, who are supposed to meet regularly. A day's walk over hilly terrain is therefore the canton's natural radius... (Benet, 1957, p. 191).

While the district is not traditionally an independent political unit in most other sections of the country, particularly in the Arabic-speaking plain, it still remains an important socio-political unit (Coon, 1931, p. 92; Deverdun, 1942, pp. 304-305, 313; Hart, 1954, p. 67; Paniagua y Santos, 1948, pp. 15-16).

Throughout the rural areas the districts are designated by names of imputed ancestors or founders. Thus – Ait Lhason, Ait Abdallah, Ait Mousa. The concept, present in some groups, that all the members of the district are descendants from a single ancestor, is completely fictional. One characteristic of Morocco is great internal mobility in the form of temporary or permanent migrations resulting from economic pressure, epidemics, and (formerly) exile and banishment. This population movement has affected every section of the country, from the highest mountains to the coastal plain. Thus, in the district of Ait Lemsour of the Goundafa tribe (589) of the High Atlas, Montagne found none of seventeen minor lineages to be "aboriginal". In the neighboring Seksaoua tribe (559), considered to be a very ancient group by the plains-dwellers, foreign lineages from the other tribes of the neighboring mountains, from the *Haouz* or plain of Marrakech, from the valley of the Sous, [166] • 634 613 166

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

or of the Oued Noun, are scattered pell-mell throughout the territory. In almost all cases this population turnover is accomplished on an individual basis, individuals or families simply attaching themselves to a community in new territory. In the midst of all this constant renewal of individual elements of the society, the Berber district remains unchanged in outward form or internal structure (Montagne, 1930, pp. 153-154).

f. *Tribe*

Districts are customarily grouped to form a tribe, known as a *taqbilt* or *qabila* among the Shluh, Beraber, and Zenata (Abes, 1917, p. 189; Adam, 1951, p. 76; Doutté, 1905; Marcy, 1929, p. 139), and as a *qabila, zakoir*, or *thakabitch* among the Riffians (Coon, 1931, p. 92; Paniagua y Santos, 1948, p. 16).

In contrast to the commune and district, the tribe is a creature of sentiment and attitude, lacking any concrete character or any overt political institutions. It is a territorial unit, the criteria of affiliation being residence within a definite area (though in some cases the boundaries of this area may not be strictly defined). It has a name implying group descent from a common legendary ancestor – an implication usually denied by the tribespeople themselves. Its members recognize a tribal patron saint, common traditions, and sometimes a tribal flag. However, its members do not customarily function as a unit except under circumstances of common danger.

g. *Confederation*

A number of neighboring tribes may feel an affinity through reasons of common interest, history, or residence, and may constitute a vague unit known as a sub-confederation, confederation, or super-confederation, depending upon the exact shade of relationship (see Table III, for examples of structuring). Such confederation units are of little political significance except in case of attack by an outside group. They are largely lacking among the tribes of the Jebala, northeastern Morocco, the central High Atlas, and the Anti-Atlas, but are well developed among the coastal tribes near Rabat (Deverdun, 1942, p. 306; Montagne, 1930, pp. 164-169).

[pp. 62-84 not processed]